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# Ministers and Missionaries

Congregational Studies Conference 1995



# Congregational Studies Conference Papers 1995

Peter Beale, Derek Swann and Brian Higham

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The papers are printed in the order in which they were given at the Conference; as usual each contributor is entirely responsible for the views expressed in his paper.

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# **Foreword**

The papers contained in this booklet have one thing in common. Thomas Haweis, 18th Century Rector of Aldwincle in Northamptonshire, and David Jones, Rector of Llangan in the Vale of Glamorgan, were both involved (among many other labours) in the formation of the London Missionary Society, the bicentenary of which we celebrate this year. That is one justification, if justification were needed, for studying two Anglican clerics at a Congregational Studies Conference. The formation of the LMS is the subject of the first paper.

We are grateful to Peter Beale, Derek Swann, and Brian Higham for sharing the fruit of their studies with us. The Conference was very well attended and much appreciated. We send the papers forth with the prayer that in written form these lectures may bring benefit to an even wider audience.

It may be of interest to some readers to mention that David Jones is the subject of a University of Wales M.Th. thesis (1980) by Brian Higham.

# **Alan Tovey**

## **Beverley**



# The Rise and Development of the London Missionary Society

### Rev. Peter Beale

To focus on the beginnings of the London Missionary Society at the Congregational Studies Conference in the society's bicentennial year is, of course, entirely appropriate. However, in 1982 Mr David Boorman of Swansea University gave a paper at this Conference entitled 'The Origins of the London Missionary Society', and I commend that to you as a very full and perceptive treatment of the subject. On the principle that the re-invention of the wheel is unnecessary, I have turned frequently to Mr Boorman's paper.

Although the origins of the modern missionary movement are rightly traced back to William Carey and the formation in October 1792 of the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen, Dr George Smith is perhaps over-harsh, at any rate as far as Congregationalists or Independents were concerned, in his condemnation of others:

The Congregationalists made no sign. The Presbyterians, with a few exceptions like Dr Erskine, denounced such movements as revolutionary. The Church of England kept haughtily aloof, although king and archbishop were pressed to send a mission.

Some fifty years previously Philip Doddridge, pastor of Castle Hill Independent Church and founder-principal of the Dissenting Academy at Northampton, had joined with some of his students in putting before his congregation a 'form of sacred engagement' which included the following clause:

That we purpose, as God shall enable us, to be daily putting up some earnest petition to the throne of grace, for the advancement of the gospel in our world, and for the success of all the faithful servants of Christ, who are engaged in the work of it, *especially among the heathen nations*.

As well as praying for the spread of the gospel, encouragement was given to support it in practical terms, contributing towards the expense of sending missionaries, printing Bibles or other useful books in foreign languages, establishing schools, and so on. On 30 June 1741 at Denton, Suffolk, in a gathering of Norfolk and Suffolk ministers, he preached a sermon on 'The evil and danger of neglecting the souls of men'. He spoke on a similar subject to Northamptonshire ministers two months later, and in October, having been

much impressed by meeting Count Zinzendorf and hearing of the beginnings of Moravian missionary work in Greenland and elsewhere, preached on the same theme in Kettering. (Pearce Carey in his biography of William Carey refers to this sermon, but mistakenly describes Doddridge as Kettering's Independent minister, basing on this his statement that 'Kettering might well have been the cradle of modern missions fifty years before 1792'. He remained pastor at Northampton from 1729 until his death in 1751.) This sermon was published in 1742 together with a scheme for evangelisation on a large scale, but nothing came of it, though Doddridge himself maintained his interest in missionary work, especially among the American Indians, and one of the last books he read was the Journal of David Brainerd.

Over fifty years later in September 1794 David Bogue of Gosport felt constrained to admit in an letter to the *Evangelical Magazine* that "those Christians who practised infant baptism had been singularly unready to discharge their obligations to the unconverted nations on the earth."

The *Evangelical Magazine* was a particularly appropriate vehicle for Bogue's appeal, having been founded the previous year in order "to arouse the Christian public from its prevailing torpor, and excite to a more close and serious consideration of their obligations to use means for advancing the Redeemer's Kingdom." In his letter Bogue points out that "the Episcopalians, through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were already doing missionary work, the Baptists had just begun, the Wesleyans were evangelising the colonies, the Continental Moravian Brethren were making magnificent sacrifices in this cause, and the Independents alone were resting on their oars".

It was Carey's first letter home from India which had spurred Bogue, already a convinced and ardent advocate of the importance of propagating the gospel among those who have "never heard the joyful sound of salvation by a crucified Redeemer", to write his appeal in the *Evangelical Magazine*: On a preaching visit to Bristol in July 1794 he was invited to join Mr HO Wills, one of the managers of the Tabernacle built in Bristol by Whitefield, to hear the letter which had just been received by John Ryland, President of the Baptist College. As well as Bogue, Wills brought with him James (or Robert?) Steven of the Scots Church, Covent Garden, and John Hey of Castle Green Independent Chapel, Bristol. Much impressed and moved by what they had heard, the four men met at the Tabernacle in Bristol to pray and consult on the best way to engage general support for the missionary enterprise.

Meanwhile, the previous year, in June 1793 the Warwickshire Association of Independent ministers, "kindled by the spark struck by its Baptist neighbours of the east", had considered the question, "What is the duty of Christians with respect to the spread of the Gospel?" Prominent among these

ministers were George Burder of Coventry and James Moody of Warwick. Burder, a former engraver, had been influenced in his desire to enter the ministry through listening to Whitefield's last sermons in London, which he took down in shorthand while standing on the edge of the crowd; he was a friend of William Carey. Moody, also a Londoner, came to Warwick the same year, 1783, as Burder was called to Coventry. Concluding that it was "the duty of all Christians to employ every means in their power to spread the knowledge of the Gospel, both at home and abroad", they resolved to recommend immediately the formation of a fund for this purpose, and "That the first Monday of every month, at seven o'clock in the evening, be a season fixed on for united prayer to God, for the success of every attempt by all denominations of Christians for the spread of the Gospel." It was further resolved that the Secretary of the Association should write to Dr Edward Williams of Carr's Lane, Birmingham, "to prepare by the next meeting a circular letter on the subject of spreading the Gospel." This letter was duly presented at an ordination service at Nuneaton six weeks later, when it was decided to send it out to other parts of the country.

In November 1794 Bogue's call was echoed in the *Evangelical Magazine* by Thomas Haweis, the Evangelical rector of Aldwincle, Northants, and chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. Reviewing a book by Melville Horne, formerly chaplain in Sierra Leone, entitled *Letters on Missions: addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches*, Haweis asked:

Could a new society be formed for the promoting of the Gospel, and those, who now as individuals long for it, be united together, without respect to different denominations of Christians, or repulsive distance arising from the points in dispute between Calvinists and Arminians? Would the really faithful and zealous look out for men who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and begin with one corps of missionaries to the Heathen in the South Seas; would they pursue their object without being discouraged by disappointment, and try again and again, till it should please God to open the way for success? No expense attending it deserves for a moment to come into the consideration.

The immediate outcome was a series of fortnightly meetings held at the Castle and Falcon in Aldersgate Street, London, of which the leaders were the Trevecca-trained John Eyre, founder and editor of the *Evangelical Magazine* and minister of the Episcopal Chapel at Homerton, and Matthew Wilks, minister of the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapels. The Warwickshire ministers had responded enthusiastically to Bogue's call in the magazine, and George Burder (who was later to become its editor, combining this office with the secretaryship of the LMS and the pastorate of a church in Fetter Lane) took an increasingly prominent part in the discussions, drafting 'An Address to

the serious and zealous Professors of the Gospel, of every denomination, respecting an attempt to evangelise the Heathen', which was widely circulated early in 1795. These discussions led on to the plan to call a general meeting of ministers in the summer of 1795 to organise a missionary society. In the event four meetings took place in London, the first on the evening of 21st September and the others on the following days. Burder, who was appointed secretary for the day on 22nd September, took with him a contribution from his Coventry church, so that it could be claimed that "the first money ever contributed to the L.M.S. was raised at a meeting held in the vestry of West Orchard Chapel."

At the first meeting it was unanimously resolved "that it is the opinion of the meeting that the establishment of a society for sending missionaries to the heathen and unenlightened countries is highly desirable", an outline plan was established and a subscription list opened. On the next day at the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel in Spa Fields Dr Haweis preached, referring to "the united aim, irrespective of denomination, to make known abroad the glory of his person, the perfection of his work, the wonders of his grace, and the transcendent blessing of his redemption, where his adorable name hath never yet been heard." Although the London Missionary Society came later to be associated almost exclusively with Congregational churches, the initial aim was that it should be entirely trans-denominational, and Haweis, himself a minister of the Church of England, rejoiced in the prospect of "merging that day the petty distinctions of names and terms, the diversities of administrations and modes of Church Order in the greater, nobler, and characteristic name of Christian." He sought to answer three questions: Where must we go? Whom should we send? and What message was to be preached?

On the first, acknowledging that the field was the world, he recommended an initial attention to the South Sea Islands, which had been brought before the British public through the thrilling accounts of the voyages of Samuel Wallis and James Cook. Cook had prophesied that the island of Tahiti would never become the scene of a Christian mission; Haweis, on the contrary, saw the islands as more promising than anywhere else:

No region of the world...affords us happier prospects in our auspicious career of sending the Gospel to the heathen lands; nowhere are the obstacles apparently less, or the opportunities greater, for the admission of the truth as it is in Jesus. No persecuting government, no Brahmanic castes to oppose, no inhospitable climate to endure, a language of little difficulty to attain, and of vast extent, with free access, and every prejudice in our favour.

As to the second question, Whom shall we send?, the missionaries were to be "such as the Lord had prepared and qualified for the arduous task". Unlike

Bogue, Haweis did not believe that special training was necessary, and his view prevailed in the set of rules initially drawn up for the examination of candidates by the Society's Board of Directors:

It is not necessary that every missionary should be a learned man; but he must possess a competent measure of that kind of knowledge which the object of the mission requires...Godly men who understand mechanic arts may be of signal use to this undertaking as missionaries, especially in the South Sea Islands, Africa and other uncivilised parts of the world.

The nature of the message to be proclaimed was quite clear, and reflected the unambiguous position of all those associated with the founding of the Society:

What must the missionary preach?...The Gospel to every creature; the pure, powerful, unadulterated Gospel of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ... We appeal to the experience of all ages, what ever did or ever can control the unruly wills and affections of sinful men, but the preaching of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ?

At the final meeting, on the evening of 24th September, Bogue preached on Haggai 1 & 2, dealing with various objections which had been raised. David Boorman lists some of these, several of which are very relevant in our own days:

- 1. The work itself is so very arduous that success cannot be hoped for.
- 2. The time for the conversion of the heathen is not yet come, because the millennium is still at the distance of some hundred years.
- 3. What is there in the state of the Christian church at present that flatters with peculiar hopes of success for a mission to the heathen? Many ages have elapsed and little has been done; what makes the time now so favourable? Are we better than our fathers?
- 4. The governments of the world will oppose the execution of the society's plans and defeat its design.
- 5. The present state of the heathen world is so unfavourable with respect to religion that little hope can be entertained of success.
- 6. How and where shall we find proper persons to undertake the arduous work of missionaries to the heathen?
- 7. Where will the societies and the missionaries be able to find support?
- 8. There is no door opened by providence for the entrance of the Gospel. We should wait until such an event takes place, and then diligently improve it.
- 9. What right have we to interfere with the religion of others?
- 10. We have heathen enough at home, let us convert them first before we go abroad.

Bogue, as we should expect, gave cogent biblical reasons for dismissing these objections, and concluded:

This year will, I hope, form an epoch in the history of man; and from this day, by our exertions, and by the exertions of others whom we shall provoke to zeal, the Kingdom of Jesus Christ shall be considerably enlarged both at home and abroad and continue to increase "till the knowledge of God cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." Now we do not think ourselves in danger of being mistaken when we say that we shall account it through eternity a distinguished favour, and the highest honour conferred on us during our pilgrimage on earth, that we appeared here and gave in our names among the founders of the Missionary Society, and the time will ever be remembered by us, and may it be celebrated by future ages, as the era of Christian benevolence.

Although Haweis's preference for a work in Polynesia was accepted as the first aim of the Society, with a resolution that the first contingent of missionaries should go to Tahiti, Bogue's heart was in India, and he accepted the offer of Robert Haldane to accompany him (together with Rev. Greville Ewing and others) to establish a mission in Bengal. But it was not to be. Waddington claims that

The Clapham party—Charles Grant, John Newton, and the rest—laboured most assiduously to thwart the intended mission of Haldane, Bogue, and Ewing, and to supersede all other missionary plans in the East by the introduction of chaplains or missionaries in connection with the Church of England, and against their persistent influence the munificence of Mr Haldane, ready to sell his paternal estate for the object, and the honest zeal of Dr Bogue, were unavailing, though their application was supported by Congregationalist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan associations in every part of the country.

What prevented the Indian venture getting off the ground, despite its widespread support from nonconformist churches throughout the country, was the implacable opposition of the British East India Company, without the approval of which they could not go to Bengal. Seeking the support of the nonconformist associations, Haldane and Ewing pointed out that "the question is not whether a few individuals shall be allowed to go to India to propagate the religion of this country, but whether twenty-four merchants are to exclude the gospel of Jesus Christ from ten millions of our fellow-subjects". The Directors of the London Missionary Society itself lent their support to the application, but it was turned down by the Company, alleging "weighty and substantial reasons" which were however never specified. In April 1798 it was decided not to press the application for the time being.

Meanwhile plans went ahead for the commencement of a work in Tahiti. On 27th July 1796 there was a service of commissioning at Zion Chapel, when five ministers representing five denominations preached to the missionaries.

Each candidate was exhorted with these words, "Go forth, and live agreeably to this word" (placing a Bible in his hands), "and publish the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the heathen according to your calling, gifts, and abilities, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" To which each missionary replied: "I will, God being my Helper!"

On 10th August the missionaries boarded the *Duff* in the Thames and sailed to Portsmouth, where they were delayed, awaiting the arrival of a warship to provide convoy protection. The *Duff's* captain, James Wilson, had had an adventurous career encompassing the battles of Bunker's Hill and Long Island during the American War of Independence, and imprisonment by the French in India, followed by his escape and subsequent capture by the notorious Hyder Ali, who incarcerated him for twenty-two months with iron weights on his arms. Having been released he made some successful mercantile voyages, in one of which he was the only European survivor from an outbreak of fever, and then returned to England, a hardened atheist. But a sermon preached in Portsea Chapel by Rev. John Griffin convinced him of the truth of the Gospel, and when the L.M.S. was formed he offered his services free of charge. Both captain and crew were men of God, and the testimony of their conduct was such that on their homeward journey at Canton the crew were given the nickname of "the ten commandments."

The rather sad early history of the Tahitian mission may be summarised in the words of Cecil Northcott, in a book issued to mark the sesquicentenary of the L.M.S. in 1945:—

Out of the thirty men selected...twenty-six were artisans and tradesmen—six carpenters, a shopkeeper, a harness-maker, two tailors, a gentleman's servant, a gardener, a surgeon, a blacksmith, a cooper, a butcher, a cotton manufacturer, two weavers, a hatter, two bricklayers, two shoemakers, a linen draper and a cabinet maker. There were only four ordained men, and of the whole company only six were married. Great risks were taken in sending this motley company to Tahiti, and it is not surprising that the conditions of island life, the loneliness and moral strain caused serious failures. By 1800 twenty of the thirty had abandoned their calling, and together with their colleagues of the second *Duff* voyage of 1798 they are not a lively testimony to the missionary calling. Out of the sixty missionaries valedicted for the two voyages only nine remained as effective workers.

These facts serve to exalt the nobility of men like Henry Nott, bricklayer, Henry Bicknell, carpenter, and their ordained colleagues John Jefferson and John Eyre, who lived through the testing years on Tahiti and planted the Gospel in the Pacific. They were also a lesson to the young Society that the task of finding its missionary staff demanded shrewdness as well as risk, and that a few tested, disciplined men were better than a large company of the

fervent but untried. The facts also led to the establishment under David Bogue of the Gosport Academy, where...some notable men like Loveless of Madras, Morrison of Canton, John Wray of British Guyana, Pacalt of South Africa, Hands of Bellary, Milne of Malacca, Jones and Griffiths of Madagascar, were trained.

The years that followed were hard and discouraging ones in many ways: there was the language to be learned, the hardships of life (it was four years before supplies reached them, and not until 1820 that the society accepted responsibility for supporting its missionaries), the apparent lack of fruit, and the many setbacks. In 1797 Captain Wilson landed nine unmarried missionaries on the island of Tonga, some 1200 miles to the west of Tahiti, to commence what Horne describes as "two-and-a-half years of indescribable horror, relieved only by the faith and fortitude of the brave men who endured so much for Christ's sake." Some released convicts from New South Wales were living on the island, and stirred up the people against the missionaries. One of the missionaries deserted and joined the inhabitants in a life of immorality. Then they were caught up in inter-tribal warfare: five barely escaped with their lives, but three were attacked at the mission-house, struck down and killed; following the battle between the tribes the conquerors celebrated their victory with a cannibal feast. The surviving five managed to hang on, in daily peril, until they were able to join a passing vessel in January 1800 to sail to Port Jackson in New South Wales.

Meanwhile in Tahiti itself the work was similarly fraught with difficulties, and in August 1806, having become proficient in the language, reduced it to writing, and achieved much in terms of education, even counting the king, Pomare, among their pupils, the missionaries Nott and Jefferson wrote home: "No success has attended our labours so as to terminate in the conversion of any." But the seed was being sown, albeit at tremendous cost, and God was preparing fruit in answer to the prayers of his people. In 1809 it was decided to withdraw from the islands for a time, with apparently nothing to show: "Every Christian worker had been driven away, and, so far as was known, no single native heart was even favourably disposed towards the Christian message." The Directors of the L.M.S. were seriously considering abandonment of the mission, but in the event decided not to do so. Horne describes what followed:—

When the decision to renew the mission had been made, and Dr Haweis and a few faithful ones had gallantly supported the decision with generous gifts, a prayer meeting was held to pray for the conversion of King Pomare and the triumph of Christianity. At the very time when this was taking place in England, Pomare came to the missionaries at Moorea and asked for Christian

baptism, declaring his purpose to forsake idolatry and all its practices, and to become a follower of Jesus Christ. This was in July 1812.

Following this there was much progress, with some of the priests being converted and a great turning away from idols. 1817 saw the arrival of John Williams, whose ministry throughout Polynesia was much blessed through to his martyrdom at Erromanga in the New Hebrides in November 1839: a great advocate of the "missionary ship" to spread the gospel among the islands, he had been unable to persuade the Directors to sanction the purchase of such a ship, so built his own, *The Messenger of Peace*, with the assistance of the local people. Having proved his point, while on furlough in England in 1836 and 1837 he was able to make a successful appeal to the Christian public for the purchase of a ship, the *Camden*, in which Mr and Mrs Williams set sail from London Bridge along a Thames whose shores were thronged with onlookers. It was fitting that several generations of subsequent ships bore the name of John Williams.

We have only dipped in a very shallow way, and more or less at random, into the early years of the society's work. Although Polynesia was the first thrust, it was by no means the only one: Northcott comments that by 1825 there was hardly a country from Penang to Peru which had not been considered for a mission. Over the next thirty years work began in India, Ceylon, China, Mongolia, South Africa, Madagascar, South America, the West Indies, and the Mediterranean and Greek islands.

The L.M.S. was from the outset, as we have observed, an interdenominational society, and as early as May 1796 its Directors adopted the "Fundamental Principle" "that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government...but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen." As we have seen, Evangelical Churchmen were involved in its founding, and it became the missionary organ for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and the Scottish churches in England as well as for the Independents.

In 1799, however, the specifically Anglican Church Missionary Society was formed. Latourette writes-

While the founders were not unfriendly to the L.M.S. (both societies, indeed, were inaugurated in the same hotel room), it was their belief that members of the Church of England could best further the spread of the Christian faith through an organisation which held to the principles of that church and which was connected with the Evangelical part of that community.

Meanwhile in 1797 the first continental Protestant society for the spread of the gospel, the Netherlands Missionary Society (Nederlandsche

Zendelinggenootschap) was started in Rotterdam, largely in connection with the L.M.S., its main founder being John Theodore Vanderkemp, who then went out in 1798 as the first L.M.S. missionary to South Africa. Latourette describes this as being for a time almost an auxiliary of L.M.S., although its membership was drawn largely from the Dutch Reformed Church. Even more than its English prototype, it was inclusive theologically. Until the midnineteenth century it was the only Dutch missionary society, but then in the light of dissatisfaction with the theological liberalism of its directors, other societies were formed.

In 1800 in Berlin Johann Jänicke, pastor of the Bohemian Bethlehems-Kirche, founded a school to train young men for missionary service, the immediate impulse for this coming in part through the L.M.S. Although most of those prepared were Germans, the majority served under L.M.S., C.M.S. or N.M.S.

Adoniram Judson's ecclesiastical background in New England was Congregational, and in 1812 the newly formed American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent him to London to see what cooperative arrangements could be sought for sending missionaries to the East between the American and London Societies. Latourette comments that the L.M.S. was "friendly, but while offering to receive the Americans as their missionaries, held that joint control from both sides of the Atlantic was impracticable." In fact Judson, aware that the Americans were lacking in finance (he had even had to borrow his passage money to England), took it upon himself to offer himself and three of his companions, with their wives, to the London Society direct, hoping that they could be accepted for service in India. On his return to New England this brought a sharp reprimand from the American Board; but in his absence a substantial legacy had been received which made it possible for the Americans to send out missionaries on their own initiative.

Over the past two hundred years the story of the London Missionary Society has been one of advance and recession, reflecting to a large degree the spiritual state of the churches, their zeal for the gospel and understanding of the great commission, as well as changing circumstances in the fields in which the society worked. "These circumstances", wrote Tudur Jones in 1962, "have been faced with rare courage and patience by the missionaries, and that courage contrasts sharply with the declining enthusiasm of Congregationalists in Britain for the expansion of the Christian Faith." Now the society is no more. In the 1950s integration with the Congregational Union of England & Wales was advocated by many, arguing that the separation of missionary work from the remainder of the churches' activities was indefensible; but this was

resisted by those who pointed out that the L.M.S. was even then not solely a Congregational society. However, the formation of the Congregational Church in England & Wales in 1966 led to the missionary interest of those churches which remained in that structure being embodied in the Congregational Council for World Mission, which absorbed both the L.M.S. and the Commonwealth Missionary Society (founded in 1836 as the Colonial Missionary Society). With the coming into being of the United Reformed Church it became simply the Council for World Mission, which is also supported by churches of the Congregational Federation. It is a matter of debate whether the fathers and founders of the London Missionary Society would recognise these bodies as their legitimate successors in their vision for the fulfilment of the Great Commission, or whether they would feel more at home with the various clearly evangelical missionary societies at work today, which proclaim with undiminished confidence and urgency what Haweis described as "the Gospel to every creature; the pure, powerful, unadulterated Gospel of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

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# Thomas Haweis (1734–1820)

### Rev. Derek Swann

Haweis is sometimes credited with being the founder of the London Missionary Society. On a tablet in the Abbey Church, Bath, he is described as such. The fact is, there were several fathers and founders. James Bennett in his *Life of David Bogue* wrote:

To discover who was the father of this Missionary Society may be as difficult as to ascertain the source of the Nile. I

The Missionary Society was not the creation of any one man, as in the case of the Baptist Missionary Society, but it was the result of a co-operative movement. One thing, however, can be affirmed without question, and that is that Haweis was "the father of the South Sea Mission".

Once the Missionary Society was formed, Haweis used all his powers of persuasion to ensure that Tahiti should be the destination of the first missionary voyage.<sup>2</sup>

Haweis was born on I January 1734 at Redruth, Cornwall. His father died when he was a small child, and of his childhood little is known. When about 4 or 5 he was sent to school to learn Latin, and went on to Truro Grammar School. Here he came under the influence of George Conon, a scholarly and saintly man. (It was Conon who, in 1747, led Samuel Walker, Curate of St Mary's, Truro, to his evangelical conversion.) Under Conon's tuition the young Haweis made rapid progress and distinguished himself in both Latin and Greek. He also showed early evidence of his unusual oratorical gifts. Through Conon, Haweis was grounded in the theory of evangelical truth, but as he wrote:

Yet I must acknowledge to my shame and grief that though none answered more pertinently to his interrogations than myself I was a grievous stranger to any Divine conviction of the truths which he enforced, or their influence, and continued so for a considerable time after I left school.<sup>3</sup>

On leaving school he was apprenticed to a gentleman in the medical profession residing in Truro, with whom he lived till the period when his articles closed. This is Haweis' account of his pre-conversion life:

When I left school and commenced my first career of youth, I lived as most other young persons do, without God in the world: eager to enjoy all the pleasures which my circumstances and situation would admit, restrained from no evil for the fear of the consequences resulting from sin as sin.

Where the restraints of God's grace are not, the history of youth must bear a great resemblance. We walk as other Gentiles walk in the vanity of our minds. From one sin, however, I was always mercifully preserved, the sin of drunkenness, the dire effects of which having seen, and so terribly felt at home, it had begotten a kind of natural abhorrence to the vice. And whilst I disliked not, nor avoided the company of those who indulged their appetites freely and without restraint, I preserved perfect sobriety, and was sometimes laughed at for my squeamishness; in fact, it arose from no sense of the evil, but a dislike of the act.

In this common course of carelessness and dissipation I lived. I never prayed, nor remember feeling any compunction or fear in the prospect of appearing before God in my sins, and seemed as perfectly insensible of any danger as if my existence were ready to terminate with the dissolution of my body. I believe I had never a serious thought about that, surrounded as I necessarily was in my profession, with so many providential warnings and constantly visiting the wounded in the mines, and the dying. Those around me seemed all like myself, and in the house of my abode I had neither example nor exhortation.<sup>4</sup>

About this time Haweis fell in love with a young lady of his own age, the daughter of a clergyman. He was just beginning his courtship when she died of smallpox. This bereavement did not have any deep spiritual effect on him, but he was constrained to attend St Mary's Church one afternoon. Walker was the preacher. His preaching was powerful and having a profound effect on the town of Truro. In 1754 in a letter to a friend he indicated that about 800 people had approached him seeking the way of salvation. The total population of Truro was around 1,600.

This is Haweis' testimony as to what happened:

My time was now come. Mr Walker was led that day to speak in a very affecting manner on death and its consequences, and the discourse for the first time found such a congeniality in my feelings that though I should probably have heard him as forcibly urge the same truth before, for the first moment of my life, that I can reflect upon, I felt an impression on my conscience which never since has been, and I hope never will be, obliterated.

I now knew myself mortal; not that I had doubted it before, but the sense of death never came so near my heart as to affect me with any apprehension of its consequences. I was convinced that I was in a state very unfit to appear in the presence of God, Who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity without just retribution. My convictions were not indeed, as was then the case with many others, terrifying and deeply distressing, but they were attended with a clearness of evidence respecting my state before God that led me to fly for refuge from the danger I apprehended, and that very day I spoke to another

young gentleman, Mr Tippett, who sat with me at Church, and I knew frequented Mr Walker's house, to introduce me to him, which with the greatest of pleasure he undertook to do. Mr Walker embraced me tenderly, spoke to me with the affection of a father and the fidelity of a pastor, and from that day commenced that tender friendship, shall I call it, or rather paternal and filial regard, that was interrupted only by his departure to glory.<sup>5</sup>

He was probably about 20 or 21 when his conversion took place. He renewed his friendship with Conon who had been such a help at the Grammar School and also joined Walker's religious society. The rules stated that "the sole design of this society is to promote real holiness in the heart and life of all who belong to it in a dependence on the Divine power and the conduct of the Holy Spirit, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to advance and perfect all good in us." They met once a week for prayer, instruction and fellowship.

At this time Haweis' mind began to turn to the ministry. He attempted to smother these feelings but couldn't, and eventually he confided in Walker, who advised him to finish his apprenticeship first of all. In the meantime both Walker and Conon assisted him in his studies for the ministry. Walker also advised him to inform his family of his intentions, especially his uncle John Williams who had financed his training as a doctor. With fear and trembling he put the matter to his uncle. This, in his own words, is what happened:

I shall never forget the scene. My uncle was naturally a hasty and passionate man, and his lip by then quivered very much, and had he burst upon me, as I feared, I was prepared for it. But he heard me without the least violent emotion and, looking kindly on me, "Tom," says he, "you know the expense we have already been at in your education for the profession you are in. Such a sum (naming it) we have reserved for you completing it in the hospital. This you shall have, if you think it sufficient for the purpose, and though I cannot approve your present request, I will not oppose it." This was the substance, perhaps not the very words. I thanked him very earnestly, and retired: went up to my chamber and poured out my heart to God in such a burst of thankfulness and with a delight and joy the vivid impression of which has long remained. 6

He went to Oxford in 1755. Here, feeling the need for spiritual companionship he began to gather together a group of fellow students who, like him, were preparing for the ministry. They met regularly to read the Greek Testament, discuss theology, share their Christian experience, and join in prayer. It was similar to the Holy Club founded by the Wesleys in 1729. The meetings caused quite a stir, and he was soon branded with the mark of Methodism.

He was offered an assistantship at the Church of St Mary Magdalene,

Oxford, where Joseph Jane was vicar. He preached his first sermon in the autumn of 1757. His initial discourse, writes A.S. Wood, contained an "open, clear and decided avowal of his determination to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." Opposition began immediately. Stones were hurled through the windows as he preached, and on the church doors were chalked "This is the back way to Hell". Such opposition drew attention more than ever to Haweis and his preaching as students began to flock to hear him. The university authorities actually put his church out of bounds.

On 19th February 1758 he was ordained as a priest, but opposition against him mounted and eventually in 1762 he was expelled from St Mary's by Dr Hume, Bishop of Oxford. The disturbances in his church and the unhealthy influence of his evangelical doctrines upon the students who frequented his rooms were the reasons given for his dismissal. An appeal was made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Secker, who answered in these terms:

Mr Haweis, during the time that I was your diocesan I always protected you, though I had many complaints against you. You have now another diocesan who would be more competent to judge of your conduct on the spot than I can be. You know how much the University is set against you. But whether you really gave the offence, or they take it, I cannot take upon myself to determine it.<sup>7</sup>

The truth is that his sole crime was to preach evangelical doctrines. Thomas Haweis decided to settle in London under the protectorship of Martin Madan, Chaplain of the Lock Hospital (Lock is derived from "Loke"—a house of lepers). In the eighteenth century sufferers from venereal diseases were excluded from most of the public charities. This hospital was founded to afford relief to the many unfortunates of the city. Haweis became assistant Chaplain. His work consisted of conducting worship twice on Sundays, visiting the wards, private interviews, and mid-week addresses to the men and women separately. He also began to preach for the Countess of Huntingdon, something that would continue for a considerable time. He also exercised a considerable influence over John Newton, a fact, A.S. Wood says, that has not been fully recognised by any of Newton's biographers. The two men met while Haweis was at Oxford, and Newton regarded that day as a turning point in his spiritual pilgrimage. Like Haweis, Newton had been refused ordination on two occasions, so they had much in common at that level. Chiefly through correspondence, the two men developed a friendship of exceptional depth and intimacy. It was Haweis who prompted Newton to prepare for publication the letters which compose his Authentic Narrative. Because Newton found his way into the Anglican ministry barred, several Dissenters and even Methodists sought him for their ministry. Newton was utterly indifferent to forms of church government; his one aim was simply to preach the riches of Divine grace. He was really prepared to do that inside or outside of the established church. It was in fact Haweis who "saved" him for the Church of England. The curacy at Olney fell vacant, and the living was in the patronage of Lord Dartmouth, who, knowing Haweis' situation, offered it to him. He declined it, but warmly recommended John Newton. A.S. Wood comments:

Thus in his 39th year, John Newton began his famous ministry at Olney. But had it not been for Haweis, would the world have heard the Olney hymns, would Lord Dartmouth have received the *Cardiphonia*, would William Cowper have come under evangelical influence?<sup>8</sup>

Haweis did have the offer of several curacies at this time, but eventually, in February 1764, he was settled at All Saints, Aldwincle in Northamptonshire, where he remained for over 50 years. The early years there saw him embroiled in some unfortunate ecclesiastical controversy, but this did not hinder his usefulness as a preacher. When he arrived he found the people ignorant of Gospel truth and set about preaching Christ "uphill and down all the way through." He preached three times on a Sunday and always lectured once in mid-week. People for 20 miles around came to his services, often leaving parishes where the minister did little or nothing to feed the flock. Conversions were many and frequent, and often remarkable. Take this, for example:

Among his converts was an old innkeeper, who, having been a good customer to his own barrel, had carbuncled his nose to the sign of his calling. He was from nature and interest averse to the Methodists, and could not see what all the world, in his part, had to run after at Aldwincle Church. Being fond of music, however, and hearing that the singing was admirable, he contrived, at the next feast day, to go six miles, avoid a drinking party, and squeeze himself into a pew somewhat narrow for his portly person, where he listened with delight to the hymns, but stopped his ears to the prayer. Heated and fatigued, he closed his eyes, too, till a fly stinging his nose he took his hands from the side of his head to punish the intruder; just then the preacher, in a voice that sounded like thunder, gave out the text, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." The impression was irresistible; his hand no longer covered his organs of hearing; a new sense was awakened within; it was the beginning of days to him. No more swearing, no more drunkenness, but prayer and hearing occupied his time, and he died after eighteen years' walking with God, rejoicing in hope, and blessing the instrument of his conversion.<sup>9</sup>

Others too were converted: John Coates, the principal farmer of the neighbourhood, whose wife and seven children all professed conversion, and John Hodgskin, whose wife was one of the converts of Haweis' first Sunday at Aldwincle, and whose son and daughter subsequently entered into the same

experience. No wonder Newton said that his preaching sounded throughout the county like the report of a cannon.

While at Aldwincle he became Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, and as the parish was not large he was able to leave about October/November and return the following Spring, itinerating in between at Brighton, London, Bath and Bristol. In 1786 he came into Wales for the winter, supplying a pulpit in Swansea while the vicar was away. His evangelical preaching quickly filled the church and the vicar hurried back to dismiss him! He was a great itinerant. One day Rowland Hill happened to see Haweis' horse standing outside a printer's in London. He came up, patted it on the head saying "There is a horse that is doing more for the Gospel than six and twenty Bishops."

He somehow managed (despite his busy life) to produce *The Evangelical Expositor*, a commentary on the Bible in 2 volumes, for the use of families and private Christians of every denomination, as well as a translation of the New Testament from the original Greek, plus a Life of William Romaine, and a 3 volume history of The Church of Christ, to say nothing of various volumes of his own sermons.

In 1789 he spoke to the Countess of Huntingdon about the possibility of sending missionaries to Tahiti. She offered him two of her Trevecca students to be trained for this purpose. Their names were Michael Waugh, 28, and John Price, 23/24. In 1791 he took practical steps to fulfil a dream he had cherished for a number of years. He had read the thrilling accounts of Samuel Wallis and James Cook describing their voyages to the South seas, and felt the challenge of Cook's prophecy that the islands of Tahiti would never become the scene of a Christian mission. Haweis longed to see these far-off regions won for Christ. He wrote:

I could not but feel deep regret that so beautiful a part of creation, and the inhabitants of these innumerable islands of the Southern Sea, should be regions of the shadow of death and dens of every unclean beast and habitations of cruelty devouring literally one another. Led by the Gospel through grace on all occasions to look for help to Him Who is mighty to save, I could not but hope and pray that this providential discovery of a before unknown world might lead to the communication of Divine truth to these benighted lands, and bring them out of darkness into His marvellous light, Who is the light of life. To

When he discovered that Captain William Bligh was in London, (he had landed in England a year previously after the mutiny on the Bounty and planned to return to Tahiti a second time), Haweis visited him and tried to secure passages aboard Bligh's new ship *Providence* for Waugh and Price. Bligh

declined, but the determined Haweis visited him time and time again and finally Bligh agreed. Elizabeth Bligh, his wife, also urged Haweis' case. Once Bligh agreed to take the two men he proved helpful in every way. All seemed ready but then Waugh and Price laid down two conditions prior to their departure. Firstly, they demanded a pension should they be obliged to withdraw, and a guaranteed return fare. Secondly, they refused to sail unless they were given episcopal ordination. The first request could be met, but not the second. Haweis visited the Archbishop personally, but he politely declined to ordain them as neither Waugh nor Price were university men, so the project crashed to the ground. Thomas Lewis, another of the Countess's Trevecca students, volunteered to go alone, but before a companion could be found for him the *Providence* sailed for Tahiti.

However, Haweis did not have long to wait to see his dreams fulfilled. As we have heard from Peter Beale, the London Missionary Society was formed at Spa Fields Chapel on Tuesday September 23rd 1795 and to Haweis fell the honour of preaching the first sermon of the Society. His text was Mark 16:15–16 "and he said unto them, Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." The preacher began:

It is with thankfulness and delight that I look round on this great congregation, assembled for the noblest purposes that can interest the best feelings of the human heart. No schemes of worldly advantage—no projects of vain ambition—no selfish ends or aims—contaminate our views. Nor will the confused noise of the warrior, or garments rolled in blood, mark our progress. We meet under the conduct of the Prince of Peace; and, unfurling the banner of his cross, desire to carry the glad tidings of his salvation to the distant lands, deep sunk in Heathen darkness, and covered with the shadow of death.

The petty distinctions among us, of names, and forms; the diversities of administrations, and modes of church order, we agree, shall this day all be merged in the greater, nobler, and characteristic name of Christian; and our one ambition be to promote no partial interests, since Christ is not divided, but with united efforts to make known abroad the glory of his Person—the perfection of his work, the wonders of his grace—and the transcendent blessings of his redemption where his adorable name hath never yet been heard, but the god of this world still reigns the uncontrolled tyrant over the bodies and souls of men. The infidel indeed derides; the careless look on with indifference; and the cold-hearted professor of every denomination is too much engrossed with selfish interests and earthly pursuits, to think of the concerns of immortal souls ... We own our efforts are feeble, and abilities small; but great events often flow from causes apparently insignificant ... Hath not our glorious head the residue of the Spirit? Can he not raise up again

instruments from the meanest of mankind, to produce changes great, as when he sent twelve poor fishermen to overturn triumphant superstition and idolatry, supported as they were by all the powers of empire, and the wisdom of philosophy? Is his hand shortened that it cannot save? Let no man's heart then fail, though we are weak, our Redeemer is mighty. II

The newly formed Society purchased a ship, the *Duff*, which sailed on 24 September 1796. Haweis went on board and spoke to the assembled ship's company from Hebrews 3:1, and they all joined in singing Charles Wesley's hymn "Blest be the dear uniting love". His feelings at that time he reveals in his Journal:

I descended, with a thousand different sensations, the ladder I had so often mounted, and sat myself down in the stern of the boat; the sail was hoisted—I looked back, and prayed for them; we were in a moment out of hearing—we waved to each other—the boat flew through the water—the distance increased; the Duff began to mingle among the multitude of vessels around her—soon she became indistinguishable from them. I shall see them probably no more. God be praised, Who has led us hitherto; we will bless Him and say Hitherto He hath helped us, for His mercy endureth for ever. <sup>12</sup>

Haweis continued to do everything to commend the work of the Society to his dying day, Tahiti being constantly on his heart. In October 1819 Haweis wrote his last letter to the missionaries in Tahiti:

You will probably have concluded that I have finished my course at eighty-seven, but though enfeebled by age in my limbs, I feel my spirit still alive and longing for you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ, rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory in the glad tidings which continue to reach us, of the glorious extent of the everlasting Gospel, so far beyond all we dared to hope or expect, and yet were they not to be expected from the great and precious promises and His agency Who hath promised to be with us even to the end of the world? Is He the Leader and Commander given to the people, and will He not go on conquering and to conquer till all nations shall do Him homage, and the Gospel being preached to every creature, the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in, the heathen be given to Him for His inheritance and the utmost end of the earth for His possession? Lord, hasten it in its time!

A thousand times I longed to be with you, to behold your order, and the steadfastness of your faith, nor am I conscious would anything deter me from making the attempt, but the absolute impracticability of the effort. My courage does not fail me to mount the ship's side for Otaheite to-morrow, but this is like a pleasing dream, from which I awake to feel the infirmities of age, and the various providential ties, perhaps. Oh! how would the thought revive my spirit, my son may be growing up to fill my place; higher preferment I aspire not after for him, than to be a missionary with you. Whilst I am in the

body, my heart is with you, as all that know me can witness, and I have evidence that you have kind remembrance of me always, in the name of your vessel, which I am glad to see not only finished, but thus employed in service. Assure Pomare he could not have given me a more grateful token of his remembrance than in the memorial impressed on the vessel, and I confess myself obliged to him for this lasting token of his regard. He is a letter in my debt, and if it pleases the Lord, I may yet live to receive his letter and to acknowledge it.13

On 11 February 1820 he quietly slipped away without a struggle. "On the very day of his death," writes William Jay, "one of the first set of missionaries sent to Otaheite [Tahiti] was expected in Bath. It is hardly possible to express the earnestness with which he wished to see him, before he breathed his last. He sent again and again to my house, begging that, if he called upon me first, I would instantly bring him to his dying bed. The missionary came—he called upon me; and, without asking him to sit down, I hurried and introduced him. We found Dr Haweis like the expiring Simeon, saying with tears, 'Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."14

### **Endnotes**

- James Bennett, Life of David Bogue, p.170.
- A.S. Wood, Thomas Haweis, 1734–1820, p. 195.
- A.S. Wood p. 29.
- 4 Ibid., p. 32.
- Ibid., p. 33.
- Ibid., p. 40.
- Ibid., p. 82.
- Ibid., p. 102.
- 9 Ibid., p. 113.
- 10 Ibid., p. 170.
- 11 Ibid., p. 211.
- 12 Ibid., p. 262, 263.
- 13 The Autobiography of William Jay, ed. George Redford and John Angell James (Edinburgh, Banner of Truth reprint, 1974), p. 479.

# **David Jones, The Angel of Llangan**

# **Rev. Brian Higham**

In 1795 the London Missionary Society was formed, and on the anniversary of its inauguration in 1796 the minister chosen to preach was a certain Rev. David Jones of Llangan, Glamorganshire, South Wales. It is this man who is the subject of our study this afternoon.

During the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, David Jones' name was as much a household name on the hearths of Wales as the names of Daniel Rowland, William Williams and Howell Harris. Yet by some quirk of history he seems to have been by-passed and his memory has faded away from the minds of the majority of Welsh evangelicals to this day.

This omission was even noted early in the 19th century by Edward Morgan, who wrote a short biography of David Jones some thirty years after his death. He states:

It is to be lamented that no account of this eminent servant of Christ was given long ago.

Similarly the editor of a very popular religious Welsh magazine made a similar comment in 1850.

There is no biography of him in Welsh, and Mr Jones is worthy of a biography printed in letters of gold on pages of silver.

Even a century later, we read a letter written in the Western Mail newspaper in 1911:

Having regard to the great part taken by the renowned David Jones, rector of Llangan, in the religious reformation of the late 18th and 19th century, I am quite at a loss to account for the apathy shown to his memory by thousands of religious individuals, conforming and nonconforming, who know how deeply his country stands indebted to him for his great work for her moral and spiritual advancement in this year of the century of his death.

It is therefore quite surprising that so little of substance was written about such a man, who was not only a national religious figure in Welsh life, but also a preacher in great demand by English evangelicals of his time. Indeed, he was chosen to preach the funeral sermon of the Countess of Huntingdon at Spa Fields on 31 July 1791.

The Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala once said of David Jones:

Jones' arrival in London was always welcomed with uncommon pleasure by the religious world. In the opening remarks, it might be interesting to note that a fairly well known poet and topographical writer refers to a chance meeting with David Jones as they travelled in the same coach to Pembrokeshire. His name was Richard Fenton, and he wrote impartially about David Jones:

The other traveller turned out to be one of the most eminent Methodist preachers in the principality, and well known all over England, having been and I believe still is one of the officiating chaplains to Lady Huntingdon. At Tavern Spite, we changed horses and alighted for a few minutes. They crowded around the preacher as if he were an angel dropped from heaven. Everybody knew him and children plucked his coat to share the good man's smile. Here at Narberth, we left the preacher who was engaged to hold forth that evening I presume to a crowded audience, as the roads were lined with people coming from all quarters, and the town was already full as on market day. We shook hands and I shall always remember him with a degree of affection.

Richard Fenton, a man of the world, poet and business man, a traveller, diarist, writer, declares when he met David Jones:

They crowded around him as if he were an angel dropped from heaven.

And indeed, he was often referred to by the common people as "the angel of Llangan" so I think it would be appropriate to give this study that title: "David Jones, the Angel of Llangan".

# Introduction to the Age

David Jones was born into a Wales that was both economically poor and spiritually lethargic. The state of many of the churches was deplorable. Many parishes were neglected by absentee clergymen, who often held two or three livings and paid curates to look after them. The times of church services were often unreliable, and when a cleric did turn up, he was often late. Buildings had been badly neglected and Dr Saunders, himself a clergyman, describes the pitiful condition of some of the churches:

They were without seats, apart from the odd stool. Their walls were damp and flaking away. There were roofs decaying, unstable and leaking, with dirt floors furrowed with unhealthy graves.

The renowned Dr Johnson when he visited Wales said:

The buildings are mean and neglected to a degree scarcely imaginable. They have no pavements and the earth is full of holes.

The archetypal view of this period is that Wales lay in a "Slough of Despond". William Williams describes the condition Wales was in before the great awakening, in his elegy on the death of Howell Harris, the powerful evangelist:

...Wales lay in a dark and death-like slumber without presbyter and priest, and without one bishop awake, in that dark and pitch-black period.

Although few statistics are available for that period, it would be safe to say that the majority of the population of Wales at the outset of the 18th century were illiterate. Attempts were made by the S.P.C.K. to provide Charity Schools, but the attitude of such charitable bodies towards the Welsh language was that at its best, it was a nuisance, and at its worst, a relic of barbarism. However, due to the vision of an evangelical Welsh vicar, Rev. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, the work of making Wales literate was accomplished by his untiring zeal. From 1731 to 1761 he established 3,495 schools attended by 158,237 people. Griffith Jones succeeded in opening the door of literacy therefore to thousands of his fellow countrymen, preparing the way for the fuller understanding of the Word of God. He himself said:

All should be stirred to read the Bible, else they may come to follow their experiences and not the Word.

Waiting for these Welsh people was the masterly translation of Bishop Morgan's Welsh Bible. Not only did the Bible give a new impetus to the Welsh language but, more important, prepared the people to begin to understand the great doctrines of grace, which they would soon hear preached by the great revivalist preachers of the 18th century.

So the fields were now ripe for the great awakening in Wales. It was in that period therefore that David Jones was born in 1736. However, by the time that he began to minister in South Wales and especially in the vale of Glamorgan, the first fires of revival had burnt low, because of the sad dispute between the two leaders of the Welsh revival, i.e. Daniel Rowland and Howell Harris. In the Welsh magazine Y Traethodydd 1850, the editor writes:

By this time, many had lost their first love; many had denied the faith and followed after fables.

Time does not permit me to go into this dispute, but David Jones of Llangan entered into a battlefield where not only religion had declined, but also deep doctrinal differences were dividing the believers. At the start of his ministry, the Sabbath was still not strictly observed in Wales, and fairs were often held on the Sundays, even within the precincts of the church grounds. Cockfights, gambling, drunkenness and revelries of every kind took place on Sundays in the vale of Glamorgan. But God was soon to change all that, through the evangelical preaching of the godliest of preachers, David Jones of Llangan.

# **His Early Life and Conversion**

David Jones was born in 1736, at the time when George Whitefield and the

Wesley brothers were feeling the first stirrings of God in their hearts at Oxford. By 1737, Whitefield had begun to rouse the nation by what A. Dallimore described as "Whitefield's flaming ministry".

Now similarly, in Wales, God had brought three young men together, Daniel Rowland, Howell Harris and William Williams. Although the Methodist revival in Wales had begun independently from its English counterpart, yet strong links were forged between the two movements.

In 1743 the Welsh Methodist leaders met George Whitefield at a farm in Watford, near Caerphilly. This date was an historic milestone in Welsh Methodism, for the Calvinistic doctrine was embraced at that meeting by Rowland, Harris and Williams.

By thus doing, they also became linked with the evangelical Countess of Huntingdon, who from then onwards played an important part in Welsh Methodism, establishing a theological college at Trevecca, in Breconshire.

Methodism began of course within the established church and this was also true in Wales. Similarly, David Jones was a convinced Anglican to the very eve of the Methodist breakaway. Yet he too was equally proud to be known as a Methodist.

So as the first leaders of Methodism passed away with the deaths of Howell Harris in 1770 and later Rowlands in 1790, and William Williams, Pantycelyn in 1791, one of the first of the second generation was David Jones of Llangan.

Not a great deal is known of David Jones' early life. He was born into a moderately comfortable small farm near Lampeter. The farm is still inhabited (Aberceiliog Farm, Llanllwni). His mother Gwenllian was the daughter of a rich Jewess, who gave birth to 24 children! Her husband, (David Jones' grandfather) was Edward Jones, Vicar of Llandysul.

The desire of David Jones' parents was for the eldest son to enter the church and for David to work on the Farm. But all this was reversed by a terrible accident which he often referred to. One day he was playing by a vat of boiling milk, and he fell into it. It was feared for a time that he would not survive, but he eventually made a slow recovery. So the plans of his parents were reversed, the eldest son remained at home and David was to go into the church.

The severity of the accident marked the young child's back badly for he often said when referring to the accident in later life:

I carry the marks of my calling on my back.

One cannot help seeing in all this the providential intervention of God in the life of this man. Thus the affliction he endured during his childhood was the

means of leading him, by the mysterious hand of God, into the great work he was to accomplish in Wales for the church of Jesus Christ.

It is also recorded that when he was a little boy his mother playfully pushed the child away from her, saying that she was tired of nursing him. His reply, (remarkable for one so young), is worth noting, in that he quoted very aptly from Psalm 27:10:

When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up.

On hearing these words, his mother clasped the child in her arms and said:

I will nurse you as long as you need me, for saying that, Davie.

David Jones received no university education, and after leaving Carmarthen Grammar School he was ordained deacon in 1758 at the age of 22. He served a curacy in North Wales, then in Brecon, and then in Caldicot, Gwent. It was whilst he was at Caldicot that David Jones appears to have come to a religious experience under the spiritual influence of a godly Dr Read, of Trefethin, near Caldicot. The Doctor gave him the works of Flavel to read, and we note the comment of E.W. Bruce:

His short stay at Trefethin became the occasion of a great change of heart. This was due to a personal contact with the saintly Dr Read and also the perusal of the books of Flavel; the blending of the English physician and the French divine culminated in the young man's regeneration.

The new life he now possessed constrained him to preach in the power of the Holy Ghost, but as was to be expected, this did not please his superiors, and the now fiery young curate was given his marching orders. He was sent from Wales to the Parish of Crudwell in Wiltshire, and it was whilst he was at Crudwell that he came to the notice of the Countess of Huntingdon. Through her influence, a parish and a living at Llangan were secured for him. So the young curate was able to return once more to his beloved Wales.

The Countess was always on the look out for such young clerics in order to place them in strategic livings. It was on 16th April, 1767 that the name of David Jones became forever wedded to the small parish at Llangan.

David Jones therefore began his long and fruitful ministry at the age of 33, a ministry which was to spread throughout Wales and reach the major cities of England.

Physically, David Jones was a tall man, well built, and of commanding appearance. His kind face often disarmed his worst enemies, especially when he was preaching. I His complexion was fair and reasonably handsome. E. Morgan in his biography says that one could not forget his full, fine eyes, beaming with intelligence. God also endowed David Jones with a remarkable

memory and a voice described by Robert Jones, Rhoslan, as harp-like and beautiful in its quality. One eye witness wrote:

With such reverence did he speak of the love and sufferings of Christ and how sublime was his language. Oh, how dignified and noble was his countenance when bathed with tears as was often the case with him in the pulpit.

# Llangan

It is therefore with the small rural parish of Llangan that David Jones' name will be forever associated, for it was here that his life work began.

Llangan lies in the lovely vale of Glamorgan, between Bridgend and Cowbridge. The church, churchyard and rectory have remained the same since he preached there 200 years ago. When he began his ministry the inhabitants of the vale showed little interest, if any at all, in the things of God; but were the opposite, wild and uncouth and given to much revelry. However, through the persistence, unceasing pastoral work and powerful preaching of the young vicar, the life of this area soon began to feel the impact of his ministry.

David Jones had by now one purpose in life, to reach and evangelise the perishing masses; and to this end he used every means at his disposal. He took Bible classes and devotional meetings in the surrounding districts. These were held in the farms and houses of the local Methodists with whom David Jones worked closely. During this early period of his ministry he married a godly Christian woman named Sinah Bowen in 1781, and they had a family of three children, two sons and a daughter. By the 1780s Llangan was becoming the centre of evangelical Christianity in Glamorgan and the bordering counties, and Edward Morgan his biographer remembers:

I myself was an eye witness. I used to go from Pyle in my youthful days with many a pilgrim now in glory. The travellers increased all the way as we went along until we arrived at Llangan. Such was our desire for spiritual food that we could not be prevented by any weather however severe in general. People of every description were moving on, young and old, rich and poor, some on horseback and some on foot.

# Another eye-witness writes:

The paths that once had grown over with grass and nettles soon became bare and well trodden by the multitude that crowded to Llangan to hear the pious and talented minister declaring the wonderful things of God.

The vast crowds that David Jones attracted in Llangan soon drew the criticism of neighbouring vicars and the frown of the church authorities. His enemies declared that he drew people away from other parishes, and that he would preach and pray without a book. He was eventually summoned before the Bishops of Llandaff, firstly by Bishop Barrington and then later by Bishop

Watson, but both men looked favourably upon the young vicar and took no action against him. David Jones knew of the agony of the thorny road, says E.W. Pearce in his article on David Jones. Yet, compared with some of his contemporaries and especially his predecessors, David Jones was spared much of the violent persecution endured by the earlier Methodists, for by the end of the 18th century open and organised opposition was beginning to subside.

David Jones' popularity increased year by year throughout Wales, and his fame spread as well to English cities and to the metropolis. He became a regular preacher at the churches of the Countess of Huntingdon and one of her closest chaplains. Wherever he went vast crowds would assemble for hours before he appeared. One local poet wrote these words about the vicar:

Jones at Llangan like an angel line Would swell the gospel tidings with note divine. Till all assembled on wings of love Soaring from earth aspired to realms above.

The event of the month in that area of Glamorgan was the "Sul Pen Mis" which means High Sunday of the month which was the sacrament Sunday. On that Sunday the whole countryside surrounding this small church would present an astonishing sight to the sight-seer. The hedges of the roads would be lined with horses and carriages right up to the vicarage yard. One eyewitness account relates:

David Jones would preach to the people from a small window in the wall of the church to the masses outside. Generally, he did not dwell long on the terrors of the law but rather on the love of God as it is seen in His Son Jesus Christ.

However, at every meeting people were convicted of their sin and would break down during the sermon.

After the sermon would follow the communion service, and one writer says that the congregations were so large that water was used instead of wine. At these meetings David Jones was always assisted by two or three other clergymen.

He would walk from the chancel to the nave in the packed little church, administering the elements as he went. One famous Welsh hymn writer, Thomas Williams, Bethesda'r Fro, was present at one of these meetings and he writes:

Oh! those never to be forgotten days, as I sat beneath the pulpit, feeding on the heavenly manna.

## E. Morgan writes:

David Jones was in no religious exercise so notable for spirituality and heavenly-mindedness as in the administration of the Lord's Supper.

It is no wonder that David Jones regarded Llangan like no other place on earth, as he saw continued blessing and his ministry bearing fruit year after year. The power of God's Spirit continued unabated at Llangan for more than 40 years.

During those years no less than five revivals broke out here, the first in 1773, and the last five years before his death in 1810. He himself wrote in his diary:

There is a greater call for the Gospel sound in this neighbourhood than I have every known since I came to this part of the world. It is a blessed sowing time and I verily believe, that there will be a glorious harvest.

In 1799, he wrote:

We had a shower of divine blessing within the last 18 months.

In 1797, he wrote in his diary, on his return to Llangan after a long preaching tour:

March 20th: "At home—O my heart, my heart".

In 1808, he wrote:

I was enabled to set out for this country in which my chief delight is Oh! Llangan. Blessed of the Lord.

In 1790, David Jones' wife Sinah died, and in 1794 he married a pious widow, a Mrs Parry who lived in a large house in Manorowen, Pembrokeshire. So he lived the last 16 years at Manorowen. He would stay for 3 months at Llangan and then travel once a month, to the monthly communion service, which the vast crowds continued to attend until his death in 1810.

## **David Jones and the Methodists**

As David Jones' influence and popularity grew year by year, and as he preached up and down the principality, his standing amongst the rapidly expanding Methodist movement within the established church also became increasingly obvious. Yet David Jones was a man who avoided any controversy for he was basically a man of peace.

It was believed by many that, had he had the requisite ambition, he could have succeeded in leading the Methodists out of the Church of England in Wales. As far as the Methodist cause was concerned, he could lay claim to be one of the busiest chapel builders for the movement at that time. The first most important chapel he was involved with was naturally his own at Salem, Pencoed, near Bridgend, in 1775.

He defrayed all the cost of the building by collections, and many of his

subscribers were from London's eminent rich evangelicals. The saintly Romaine was among one of his subscribers.

We may well ask at this point, what was the character of David Jones' particular brand of Methodism? Was it part of the establishment? It seemed to regard itself in that light, but the establishment did not recognise it. Even those clergymen like David Jones, who had not been turned out of the church but were standing firm as "Anglican Methodists", found their position at times quite uncomfortable. David Jones himself was twice (as we heard earlier) summoned before the Bishops at Llandaff.

No doubt David Jones' loving spirit made him immensely popular amongst the Methodists of his day, as well as amongst the Anglicans. By the time David Jones was reaching the close of his life, we see a great respect for him amongst the rising young leaders of the second generation of Methodists, men like Thomas Charles, John Elias and Thomas Jones Denbigh. In a letter dated 21st February, 1810, Thomas Jones refers to him as "Our truly Reverend father Mr Jones", but how far did David Jones envisage the future of the Methodist movement? The matter of secession from the Church of England and the question of the ordination of Methodist ministers rumbled loud and clear, and the Methodist societies were like proverbial new wine, within the old bottles of Anglicanism. Their societies were "mushrooming" all over Wales, while the number of clergymen available to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to them had become far too few. On the other hand, the men who laboured in the societies were laymen whose outstanding gifts and piety contrasted obviously with the clerics of the Church of England. No one more than David Jones was aware of all this.

It was a critical period for the Methodists as their founders were passing away, one by one. No one appeared to take the lead. All eyes turned to David Jones. However David Jones stood between the two parties, that is the intransigent evangelical clerics who would never leave the established church on one hand and, on the other, the powerful Methodist movement which longed to break away. David Jones was deeply convinced that it was wrong to break away, yet knew in his heart that it must come to pass, because of the unyielding structure of the Church of England. Griffith I. Roberts commenting on this period says in Dadleuon Methodist Cynnar (Penry) 1976:

The Methodist Revival was a movement within the Church of England, it was true; but there was an element of tension between the revivalists and the church right from the very beginning. At a meeting of the Methodists, the last David Jones ever attended, the burning question of the ordination of Methodists was discussed. Agreement seemed impossible, with David Jones declaring:

"I cannot follow you into this thing". Then he said, "I see you will pray me out of this world". John Elias replied, "If that be so we will pray you into a better one where all are agreed".

These were prophetic words indeed, for through the kindness of a providential God, David Jones never had to make that decision of breaking away. He was removed from the whole scene by his death in 1810, a few months before the momentous and decisive year of 1811, when the final breakaway took place with the ordination of Methodist ministers.

## Salem

Salem, Pencoed, near Bridgend was the Methodist meeting house that David Jones had built for himself. Salem, like Llangan, became the focal point of all the Methodists in the area. Although the original building is no longer there, a fine chapel now stands on the site.

It became the custom for the Methodists to meet at Salem on the Saturday before the great monthly communion service at Llangan church. This meeting was a preparation meeting for the next day when exhorters, preachers, and leaders of Methodist societies, as well as the rank and file Methodists, met to be instructed, encouraged and stirred up by their beloved leader, the angel of Llangan. One man, recalling those days, said:

We sat at his feet like beloved children.

However, the church looked with disdain at this place; and we read in the Glamorgan Visitation Returns for 1784–88 the following comment:

There is a place of divine worship belonging to the Methodists called Salem, Pencoed, frequented by a vast number of unlicensed itinerant preachers and some licensed "vicars". There is no settled minister, the chief as far as I can find is the Rev. Mister David Jones, Rector of Llangan.

Later in his life David Jones wrote to a friend about Salem:

Salem is Salem, and we often feast there. Many of our old friends have gone home but our new ones spring up here. I hope Salem will never want a good stock of inhabitants.

In these barren days, it is difficult for us to imagine such perpetual blessing going on from year to year and from decade to decade. Yet so it was in Wales since the mid 18th century to the beginnings of the 19th century.

# **His Preaching and Sermons**

David Jones was a great "Open Air" preacher, as was the custom with many of the revival preachers in those days. He had many encounters with opponents of the Gospel during the early days of his ministry. Time does not allow me to detail them, but many trophies of grace were won for the Lord in those meetings. One example is worth recording.

A certain fair was held every year near Llangan, which deeply worried David Jones because of the wicked behaviour of the people in general there. A nephew of David Jones recalls the occasion well:

It was at St Mary's Hill—Mr Jones undertook to preach and his text was "For the great day of His wrath is come. Who shall be able to stand?" Rev. 6:17. Great numbers were converted that day and he preached there annually afterwards to expectant crowds for 30 years. Amongst some who went up to that fair where my uncle preached was a gentleman who lived in a country mansion called Collennau, Tonyrefail. His name was Evan Pritchard Esq. He and his wife were greatly affected that day by that sermon; and his wife was, as it were, captured by the king's summons in that place. She forgot her station in life, and felt that her position counted as nothing and held no security for her, and that she possessed no saving grace before God.

Mrs Pritchard recounted years later that she was convicted but not converted. Vainly she tried to convince her husband that no such verse as the text preached upon from Revelation was to be found. "It was all trickery", she said, "of the Methodist preacher to win people to their cause". She tried to dismiss the "Open Air" meeting by going to a ball in Cowbridge that evening, but both husband and wife lost interest in the night's frivolities. She could not sleep that night, and afterwards did not rest until she had found her Saviour. Her husband was also converted at that time. Soon their home became the centre of evangelical worship in the area, and the stopping place for preachers or Christian friends on itineraries in South Wales, for many years to come.

David Jones was always on the move for His Master. One has only to browse through his diaries to see the preaching journeys he undertook throughout each year of his life. He was often exposed to bad weather, long tedious journeys on horseback to North Wales, and endured hours by mail coach to Bristol, Bath, London and other major English cities. One example will suffice:

Manorowen: 22nd November, 1804: "I cannot tell you how I am hurried about from place to place. I am very seldom two days together at what we call home".

In one of his letters to his friend, the Countess of Huntingdon, he wrote:

12th December, 1782.

My Dearest and Honoured Lady,

I am returned from my long and tedious journey through part of the counties of Montgomery and Radnor. I travelled for a week through hard frost and deep snow and, under the care of a good Master, escaped from cold and every other danger. I generally travel 30 miles a day and was enabled to preach twice a day. Great is the work of God in North Wales. Thousands flock to hear the Word and it seems to be much glorified among them.

He became one of the most popular preachers in London, and he would preach for weeks consecutively at Spa Fields, London, one of the largest chapels of the Countess in the Metropolis. He became the favourite preacher at the important functions and preaching services in London and other cities. In the minutes of the London Missionary Society, we read:

On Friday morning we completed our public meetings, with an excellent sermon by the Rev. David Jones, Llangan. His ability and spirit are known to us all and further praise from us would be superfluous.

J.H. Foster, who wrote the introduction to the life and times of the Countess of Huntingdon, wrote of David Jones:

The Rev. David Jones was a man greatly blessed of the Lord. Oh! I have witnessed more of the stirrings and melting influence of God's presence under that extraordinary man's preaching than ever I did under any other minister.

We are fortunate to have many of his sermon notes, which are deposited in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. They make fascinating reading as the notes are fairly comprehensive, but rather difficult to decipher. David Jones was regarded by his contemporaries as a man on a par with Wales' greatest revivalist preachers. William Williams, the great Welsh hymn writer, said of the preaching of David Jones:

Christ, the Bread of Life, was so eminently set forth by him. Christ the text, Christ the sermon, Christ the end of the law, and Christ the object of faith.

Two of his sermons were published: his sermon at the funeral of the Countess of Huntingdon and the other for the London Missionary Society, on the occasion of the departure of the first contingent of missionaries to the South Sea Islands. Maybe, someone, someday, will look at the very many sermon notes of David Jones and find them worthy of a study in themselves. Time does not permit any detailed comments on these sermons but suffice it to say, the contents and matter stood firmly in the Puritan tradition of theology.

# The Friendship with the Countess of Huntingdon

Before concluding, I think a word should be said about his long Christian friendship with the Countess of Huntingdon. This friendship lasted for 30 years and a correspondence was kept up continually between them during that period. In reading these letters, it is quite apparent that she regarded his preaching in her chapels as an important part of his mission. Many were the calls made upon him to this end.

As a clergyman of the Anglican Church, evangelical and staunchly Calvinist in doctrine, he fitted the part admirably as far as the Countess was concerned. Over the years, he became one of her favourite chaplains. It was rather an ironic twist in the event which followed, in that her Ladyship was herself forced to secede from the established church. This may seem inconsistent, when we consider the stand David Jones took with those of his own countrymen who desired to do the same. Her secession from the Church of England does not seem to have bothered him in any way, for he was always ready to accept preaching engagements in her breakaway chapels.

Fifteen letters written to her Ladyship by David Jones exist in the Cheshunt Library,2 but these letters contain no discussion on doctrinal or church matters, but mantain a friendlier form of correspondence, often offering the Countess spiritual comfort and encouragement. Here is one example published in the Evangelical Magazine, 1810:

My Dearest and Honoured Lady, Thanks to your Ladyship for your kind favour which I received by yesterday's post. Don't be cast down; the ark on which you are embarked will never give up to the waves. Ride on therefore without fear, though the billows may rage and foam. You will not be disembarked till you are brought safe to your desired port. If you think in earnest, you will sink. I had rather go to the bottom with you than survive with your enemies. This is the very truth. But if we must sink, heaven shall hear your Hosannas and perhaps our Hallelujahs too, from the bottom of the mountains and out of the belly of hell. But Salvation shall be our song and heaven shall be our rest forever.

It was therefore a great honour for David Jones to be invited to preach the sermon at her Ladyship's funeral on the 3rd July, 1791. He preached on the text from Genesis 50:24. "And Joseph said to his brethren, I die: and God will surely visit you". The sermon can be seen in *The Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, Vol. 2. The sermon was also published shortly after her death.

## The Death of David Jones

David Jones departed this life on Sunday 12th August, 1810 and he virtually died in harness. In his diary on August 3rd, he wrote:

Very poorly in health.

Saturday 4th August:

Came to New Chapel. Very low and weak.

On Sunday, he struggled against severe ill health to preach at New Chapel from Isaiah 1.18:

Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

This was to be his last sermon, for on August 6th he returned to Manorowen, Fishguard by 6 p.m. and wrote:

Very poorly in health, but trusting in God.

The Rev. T. Harris of Wotton-under-Edge, Glos., was with David Jones during his last hours, so we have a detailed account of his end.

I had the privilege of spending with Mr Jones the greater part of the last days he was in this world. I remember, he opened his pocket book and read with great pleasure "Surely shall one say, in the Lord, I have righteousness and strength", Isaiah 45:24. Then he said "This I have, dear Harris, and it is enough to enable me to enter Eternity with serenity of mind." On the Saturday night before he died, he said to one of the maids "Dear Letticia, the house is full of liveried servants, from heaven, who have come to accompany my soul home. If you should touch one of them, do not fear, dear girl."

Before the break of day, these heavenly angels had escorted the "angel of Llangan" to his eternal heavenly home.

After his death, elegies flowed forth from the pens of Welsh poets, revealing the high regard with which he was held by the people of Wales. He was described by them as "the Candle of Zion", the "Pillar of the ministry", "One only God can make". David Jones was buried in Manorowen church yard and the words on his tomb stone read:

"Here lies entombed beneath the clod A sinner washed in Jesus' precious blood. He fought the fight and gained the glorious prize And now he reigns triumphant in the skies".

By a strange turn of events, Richard Fenton who accompanied him in the coach to Narberth, as referred to at the beginning of this lecture, lies only a few feet away from the resting place of David Jones.

## Conclusion

David Jones played a vital and influential role in the rise of the Calvinistic Methodist movement in Wales during the 18th and 19th centuries. He was untiring in his zeal as one of her greatest preachers and chapel builders. It was a role which, I feel, has not been recognised as it should by later historians. In conclusion one might ask, did David Jones lack initiative in not taking on the leadership at the time of crisis in the movement? Was there a weak trait in his character or was it merely that he was a man of peace, who recoiled from any form of strife or schism?

As a preacher, his following was immense, for as many people gathered to hear him at Llangan as did at Llangeitho to hear the renowned Daniel Rowland. I would say David Jones was not a leader of movements, nor a man given to theological controversies and involvement in church politics. It would be wrong to say, however, that he was a man who lacked courage, for he could face and preach to hostile crowds at fairs and "open-air" meetings up and down the Principality. Sadly, he seems to have been a man who was left in the "shadows" of history because, I believe, his death came just at the moment when the flood-gates of the new Calvinistic denomination burst open and the vast majority of Welsh Methodists seceded from the Church of England.

The very fact that he died on the eve of the break-away might explain why he was so soon forgotten. For the attention of all Wales was now focussed on this new Calvinistic denomination, as it surged ahead like a mighty torrent throughout Wales.

How richly blessed were England and Wales by the life of this man of God. Whenever he left Wales to preach in London and other cities, he was sadly missed by his countrymen. One such man wrote:

Return, dear Jones return Thine absence here, we sadly mourn. Return as soon as ere you can To fill the pulpit of Llangan.

People were so strongly attached to David Jones that they used to say:

They had rather see the print of Jones' feet in the dust than look upon the face of many a preacher.

One woman named Anna walked all the way from Anglesey to the Vicarage of Llangan, to beg this dear man to come again to preach at her home town in Anglesey. Dr Rylands of Bristol, amusingly said to David Jones once, after he had preached in his chapel:

Oh you Jones of Llangan. You are a most bewitching sad thief; you have stolen the hearts of my people again and spoiled them for a whole month. They will not think nor hear another for some time.

What was the secret of David Jones' greatness and usefulness as a servant of God? I believe his greatness lay in his deep sense of God and christian humility. The following words were written on the fly leaf of his 1808 diary:

By thy favour O Lord I am come to the evening of this day but I am also so much nearer my latter end. O let the remembrance of this stir me up to repentance and amendment of life. If thou shouldst deal with me as I deserved small indeed would be thy mercy, for I have been a rebellious and ungrateful sinner. Reject me not I beseech thee O Lord, unworthy as I am, but wash me

in my Saviour's precious blood. Create in me a clean heart and renew a right spirit within me. Give me grace to walk humbly and closely with thee. Preserve me from the snares of the devil and my own corrupt and sinful nature; subdue in me all evil temper. Make me diligent, contented in the state in which thou hast been pleased to place me, humble towards my superiors and thankful towards my benefactors, especially those who have done good to my soul. But O my God! because the heart is deceitful above all things leave me not to myself but guide me by thy good spirit and lead me safely thro the temptations of this world. Pardon my manifold offences this day and assist me to serve and love thee in future—I resign my soul and my friends and all my concerns into thy hands. Do with me what is best for me and most profitable to my salvation for Jesus Christ's sake.

### REV. DAVID JONES OF LLANGAN

He, like Daniel Rowland, always recoiled from the praise of men, and after preaching would, if it were possible, seek to disappear and be alone. This however was not often possible as the crowds would surge around him after preaching delaying his retreat to some nearby house. David Jones possessed that rare ability to reach the hearts and souls of men and women, bringing them to the point of deep conviction and repentance. He did not do it by fiery, fearsome methods, like many of his contemporaries but rather by a warmth and deep sincerity of delivery. One man wrote of him:

He had a peculiar majesty, when he preached.

The righteousness of Christ was the central theme of his preaching, the rock on which all his hope was founded, and his supreme comfort in the face of death. On the last day of his life in this world, his words were:

I have been a minister for 50 years but am less today than ever.

#### **Endnotes**

- I The fine engraving of him done by the well known court engraver R. Bowyer is referred to in an amusing aside in a letter dated 26 July, 1790. "I should be glad to have one of your Ladyship's proof prints if they are come out. I find the parson's head is 4d and your Ladyship's 8d. The first time that ever a woman's head was sold for double the price of a man's. But I am willing without a grain of envy".
- 2 More letters have now come to light from the Connexion Archives.

